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gained great headway in M. H. G. from which most cases in N. H. G. can be directly traced.

The origin of this construction in N. H. G. is a very important study in syntax and deserves a much more searching and thorough investigation than this article affords. There can be no doubt, however, that one instance of this impersonal construction in O. H. G. has been heretofore overlooked by philologists, namely, *iz gasehan* (inf.) which occurs in the *Fragmenta Theotisca* in the passage previously quoted. Such an example is very important in throwing light upon the origin of this construction inasmuch as it is taken from an early period in the history of the language where the linguistic material is so very limited. The examples of the impersonal objects given by Grimm¹¹ are all taken (with the exception of *iz gifiaren*, *iz geban*, *iz chōson* and *iz retten*) from the M. H. G. when the development of the construction had gained considerable progress. The study of the impersonal *iz* in O. H. G., on the other hand, reveals the earliest stages of the impersonal construction and it is quite possible that a careful examination of all the material at hand during this period will bring to light still other examples of *iz* as object of the verb, denoting the abstract verbal idea.

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THE REFRAINS OF THE *COUR DE PARADIS*¹ AND OF A *SALUT D'AMOUR*²

In studying the songs and the refrains of the *Roman de la Violette*³ and in searching elsewhere for similar lyrics, I found that comparatively little work had been done in grouping refrains of the same type. Work of this nature has been pub-

lished by Jeanroy in his *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, by Gaston Paris in his article on the *chansons* in Huet's edition of the *Rose*,⁴ by R. A. Meyer for the motets of the Bamberg, München and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts⁵ and by others; but as yet no complete study of the refrains cited by the various romances (*Cléomadès*, *Méliacin*, etc.⁶) has appeared. It is intended that the present article form a chapter of a more complete study embracing all the refrains cited in the longer poems.

I

The *Cour de Paradis*, as published by Méon, consists of 625 octosyllabic lines containing eighteen refrains and the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus* (the latter is given with musical notation). The poem may be termed a religious fabliau in which God holds court and the Virgin, the Archangels, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Patriarchs sing and dance in the most approved earthly fashion. It belongs to the same class of poems as Rutebeuf's *Voie de Paradis*, Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'Enfer*, and such other works as the *Verger de Paradis*, the lively *Salut d'Enfer*, etc. Unlike the *Rose* or the *Violette*, the *Cour de Paradis* offers only refrains of one line each (except one of two lines at line 458). They are introduced at irregular intervals, and are sung chiefly by the characters already mentioned as they come to the Court of Heaven in answer to God's bidding. The poem itself consists of a description of this Court.

The refrains are usually of the same nature as the carols of the *Violette* (the name is there used at line 201). In many, the adaptation of the words to the movement of the dance may be seen, as, for example, in the use of the refrain cited at line 278. If these refrains are the débris of older dance-songs, colored by the aristocratic court poetry, at least the idea of placing them in the mouths of the Patriarchs is novel.

The refrains are given in their order.

1. Je vi d'amor en grant esperance (259)

sung by the Patriarchs. Cf.:

⁴ *SATF.*, vol. 33.

⁵ *Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 141 ff.

⁶ See G. Paris, *Chansons*, l. c., and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 116.

¹¹ *DWb.*, B. III, S. 1116-1125; *Grammatik*, B. IV, S. 392-401.

¹ Ed. Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1828, III, 128.

² Ed. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux*, etc., Paris, 1842, II, 235.

³ See "The Songs of the *Roman de la Violette*" in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, Baltimore, 1911.

Soufert m'a en esperance
 Mon cuer grant pieça
 (Raynaud, *Motets*, I, 54).

Quant chantent oisiaus tant seri
 Seur le gaut folli,
 Lors m'est d'un solaz membré
 Que j'ai adés esperé.
 Mès a tart vient l'esperance,
 Que unques en mon aage
 Ne joï d'amors, fors qu'en pensé
 (*Motets*, II, 47).

2. Ne vos repentez mie de loiaument amer (270)
 sung by the Apostles. This is another typical refrain of the *courtois* poetry. It occurs also in Bartsch, *R. und P.*, p. 280 ; *Rose*, l. c., l. 2365 ; *Motets*, II, 133 ; Dinaux, *Trouvères du nord de la France*, III, 142 (song by Colars li Bouthillier) ; the *Salut d'amour*, published by P. Meyer in *BECh.*, xxviii, 155 ; see also *Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 158 and 162, and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 120.

3. Tout ainsi va qui d'amors vit et qui bien aime (728)
 sung by the Apostles. The adaptation of the words to the movement of the dance may be seen. Refrains of this type are common. Cf. :

Ensi va qui bien aime,
 Ensi va (Violette, 716).
 La jus desoz la raime,
 Einsî doit aler qui aime.
 Clere i sourt la fontaine,
 Ya !
 Einsî doit aler qui bele amie a.
 (Rose, 295 ff., and 2505 ff.).
 Dex ! ensi va qui aime
 Ensi va ! (Motets, II, 58).
 Mes fins cuers n'est mie a mi,
 Ainz l'a qui bien l'aime (Motets, I, 5).

See also Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 392 and 396.

4. Cil doit bien joie mener, qui joie atent des max qu'il sent (287)

sung by the Martyrs. Cf. :

N'onques nul ne les senti
 Les maus d'amors si com je[s] sent
 (Motets, I, 7).
 Vileine gent, voz ne les sentés mie
 Les doz maus que je sent (Motets, I, 77).

This refrain differs, however, in the introduction of the idea of the *vilain*.

Lor doit bien joi mener qui d'amours est espris
 (Bamberg ms., ed. Stimming, l. c., pp. 17 and 150).

There is also a slight similarity to *Renart le Nouvel*, 6727.

5. Je ne fui onques sans amor, ne jà n'iere en ma vie (304)

sung by the Shriven. There is a suggestion of this refrain in the following :

Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie,
 Voi t'an lai ;
 N'est pais de no[s] compaignie,
 Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie,
 Ne jai nuns jor de sa vie
 N'an serait ;
 Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie.
 (*Motets*, II, 25).

6. Sire Diex, la joie qu'avons, biaux pere, el nous vient de vous (311)

sung by the Innocents. This is a variant of :

Amis dous, li malz que j'ai me vient de vous
 (*R. und P.*, p. 152).

Cf. also Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 180, and

Ains me dist : 'biaus amis dos,
 tote l joie que j'ai
 me vient de vos' (*R. und P.*, p. 284).

A similar refrain may also be found in the Berne ms. (Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII, 253).

7. Renvoisement i vois à mon ami (327)

sung by the Virgins. Cf. :

Renvoisement i vois a mon ami
 Ensin doit on aler a son ami
 (*Motets*, II, 49).

The second line of this refrain is similar to that already given at line 278. The refrain does not form a part of a longer song in the *Motets*, but has been preserved alone. In the same collection (II, 129) the refrain also occurs as introducing and ending a motet, the first line serving to introduce and the second to close the piece. Cf. also :

j'anmoins par les dois m'amie,
 s'an vois plus mignotemant
 (*R. und P.*, p. 145).

Similar refrains may also be found in Keller's *Romvart* (p. 298), and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 396.

8. Se j'ai amé folement, sage sui, si m'en repent (339)
 sung by the Widows. The entire refrain occurs twice in the *Motets* (II, 47 and 76), the only variant being *saiges* for *sage*. Raynaud divides the

line after *folement*. The last line of the refrain as thus divided occurs also in *Motets*, II, 79.

9. Ensi doit Dame aler à son ami (349)

sung by the Married Women. This is merely a variant of a refrain found in an anonymous song given by Bartsch :

Ansi va bele dame a son ami (*R. und P.*, p. 33).

This occurs also in an anonymous song given in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XCIV, 84, and is similar to the refrain already cited at line 278.

10. Vos qui amez, traiez en ça, en là qui n'amez mie (380) sung by Saint Peter. This seems to be a variant of a refrain given by Bartsch in a brief *romance* :

Belle Alis matin leva,
sun cors vesti et para ;
enz un verger s'en entra,
cink flurettes i trouva :
un chapelet fet en a
de rose fleurie.
'por den, trahez vous en la
vus ki ne amez mie.'

(*R. und P.*, p. 209.)

I cite the entire stanza to show how far these refrains have strayed from their original setting. Cf. also :

Traïés vos la, qui n'amés mie par amors
(*Motets*, I, 171).

11. Tuit cil qui sont enamouraz viengnent danssier, li autre non (400)

sung by the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. This refrain begins and ends a motet given by Raynaud :

Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat
Viegnent dançar, li autre non !

(*Motets*, I, 151.)

At the close of the song where the refrain is repeated, *avant* is substituted for *dançar*. The idea of a division of the dancers, doubtless coming from an older carol, renders this refrain similar to that just cited at line 380. For other cases see Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 320 and 394.

12. Je gart le bos que nus n'en port chapel de flors s'il n'aime (414)

sung by the entire Court. This refrain occurs in a song given by Raynaud and ending :

Ainsi gart la raime
Et la flour du bois,
Si que nus n'en port chapiau de flors, s'il n'aime
(*Motets*, I, 194).

Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 395) cites this refrain, but does not mention the occurrence in the *Cour de Paradis*.

13. Qui sui-je donc, regardez-moi et ne me doit-on bien amer ? (430)

sung by the Lord. This refrain was probably at first composed to be placed in the mouth of some girl as she danced the carol. The incongruous setting in the *Cour de Paradis* should be noticed. Raynaud offers two similar refrains :

Vien avant, biaux dous amis,
Robin, Robin, Robin,
Esgair con je suix belle ! (*Motets*, II, 7).
On doit bele dame amer,
Et s'amours garder
Cil qui l'a (*Motets*, I, 16).

The original use of refrains of this type may here be seen. The author's realism becomes more pronounced, for :

La sainte Virge douce et pure,
Prist les pans de sa vestéure
Et va chantant trestout entor,
Par repesées :

14. "Agironées depart mes amors, agironées."

The scene is strikingly like that of a medieval festival. This refrain occurs also in the *Châtelaine de Saint-Gille* :

A gironées depart amors, a gironées.
(Ed. Schultz-Gora, I. 307 ; see also page 14.)

15. Fins cuers amorous et joli,
Je ne vos vueil metre en oubli (458)

sung by Mary Magdalene. Cf. :

qui amors a, nes doit metre en oubli
(*R. und P.*, p. 17).

This occurs also in a *chanson de toile* cited in the *Rose*, 5178.

The phrase in the last line of this refrain as cited in the *Cour de Paradis* frequently occurs in other refrains ; cf., for example, *Motets*, I, 218.

16. G'enmain par la main m'amie, s'en vois plus mignotement (470)

sung by the Lord as he dances with the Virgin Mary. This refrain occurs in several other places. Bartsch gives an anonymous pastourelle ending :

j'anmoins par les dois m'amie,
s'an vois plus mignotement
(*R. und P.*, p. 145).

Cf. also :

Je tie[n]g par la main m'amie,
S'en vois plus mignotement
(*Motets*, I, 192).

There is also a similarity to :

C'est la jus desoz l'olive,
Robins enmaine s'amie, etc.
(*Rose*, 521 ff.)

For the second line, cf. :

Je m'en vois si mignotement (*Motets*, I, 23).

See also Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 396 ; cf. also the type of refrains already cited, ll. 278, 327 and 349.

17. Toz li cuer me rist de joie quant Dieu voi (487)
sung by all present. Raynaud gives the song of
a *mal mariée*, in which the wife sings to her lover :

Touz li cuers me rit de joie
Quant le voi (*Motets*, I, 130).

Cf. also from a song by Jehans Erars :

Tout li cuer me rit de joie
Quant la voi
(Dinaux, *Trouvères du nord de la France*, etc., IV, 458)

where the lover, not the girl, sings the lines. The refrain occurs also in De La Barde, *Essai sur la musique*, II, 188. The refrain of the *Cour de Paradis* is, of course, an adaptation of earlier refrains of this type.

18. J'ai joie ramenée ci (595)
sung by Saint Michael. This refrain occurs also in a song by Watriquet de Couvins ; see Dinaux, *Trouvères*, l. c., IV, 701. See also the *Tournois de Chauvenci*, l. 1516, and *Renart le Nouvel*, l. 2444.

After attributing the origin of All Souls' Day to this court, the author ends with a prayer and the wish that we may all meet at the Court of Paradise.

II

The *Salut d'Amour*, published by Jubinal, consists of twenty-nine stanzas of four, five, or seven lines each, always ending with a brief refrain borrowed by the unknown author from the *chansons*. In each stanza the poet assures his lady of his love, but apart from this there is no connection between the stanzas. The *salut d'amour* may be termed a medieval valentine ; it has been defined by Ray-

nouard¹ as *une pièce qui commençait par une salutation à la dame dont le poète faisait l'éloge* ; it has been treated in detail by P. Meyer in the *BECh.*, xxviii, 124. I give the refrains in their order.

1. Bele, de fin cuer amée, merci.

This refrain occurs also in the *Motets*, I, 189. Cf. also for the same idea :

Bele, aies de moi merci,
Car pour vos muir (*Motets*, I, 59).
Fines amouretes,
Je voz cri merci (*Motets*, I, 169).

The same idea expressed in the body of the poem may be found in *R. und P.*, pp. 51, 106 and 202.

2. Ci me point une estincele
Au cuer desouz la mamele.

Cf. :

Ha ! bonne amour, par ta franchise
En qui j'ai mon entente mise,
Te pri que la vuelles haster
Et metre li une estincele
De ton feu desous la mamele
Pour embraser (*Motets*, I, 249).

Por poi que ne li part li cuers soz la mamelle
(*R. und P.*, p. 68).

See also *A. und A.*, xciv, 97.

3. Ahi ! terre d'outremer, vous m'avez trahie.

I have not found this refrain elsewhere, but the following should be noted :

Perdus sui, et pour voir di
Qu' amouretes m'ont trahi
(*Motets*, I, 229).
He ! amouretes, vous m'avez trahi,
Se de moi n'aiés pitié ou merci !
(*Motets*, I, 287).

4. Onques n'amai tant comme je fu amée ;
Par mon orgueil ai mon ami perdu.

This occurs also in the *Cour d'amour* (*Ro.*, x, 523). Variants may also be found :

Lasse ! por coi sui je de mère née ?
Par mon orgueil ai mon ami perdu
(*Motets*, II, 48).

See also *Hist. lit.*, xxiii, 815.

Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 320, also cites this refrain from Richart le Fournival. Cf. also the following from an anonymous *pastourelle* :

e bone amour, je me mur, ke ferai ?
par ma follour mon amin perdu ai.
(*R. und P.*, p. 170).

¹ *Choir*, II, 258.

5. Qui va la quoquillète, il va, il va.

This seems to be of the same type as the refrains given by Bartsch in an anonymous *pastourelle* :

va de la dondele, etc.,

and :

va de la doudie, etc.

(*R. und P.*, pp. 202 ff.).

6. Lai aler le moine, bele, lai aler le moine.

I have been unable to find either this or the following refrain elsewhere.

7. Toute i morrez, Hallé, jà n'aurez ami.

8. Hé ! resveille-toi, Robin, quar l'en enmaine Marot.

This occurs in a *pastourelle* by Huitaces de Fontaines (*R. und P.*, p. 270), where the line is divided after *Robin* ; it occurs also in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, whence Coussemaker (*Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*, p. 377) reproduces it with the music. Variants may be found in anonymous *pastourelles* given by Bartsch :

mignotement l'en maine

Robins Marot.

(*R. und P.*, p. 215).

e non deu ! Robins enmaine

bele Mariete.

(*R. und P.*, p. 221).

9. Ge n'i voi qui je doie amer fors une.

I have not found this refrain elsewhere.

10. Vilaines genz, vous ne les sentez mie

Les dous maus que je sent.

This refrain occurs also in *Motets*, I, 77. See also the refrain given in a song by Colars li Bouthillier (Dinaux, *Trouvères*, l. c., III, 137). The following from the *Rose* (ed. Huet, l. 517) may also be noted :

Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer,

Si com je faz.

Cf. also the refrains cited in Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 394 ff.

11. Tant vous aim que partout m'en dueil :

Se je muir ce m'ont fet mi oeil.

Many variants of this type occur ; Raynaud gives a song beginning :

Ne m'en blasmés pas, se je m'en duel,

and ending :

Tous les maus ke j'ai m'ont fait mi oel.

(*Motets*, II, 73).

Cf. also :

En regardant m'ont si vair oïl

domez les maus dont je me dueil.

(*Chât. de St. Gille* ; ed. Schultz-Gora, II, 107-108).

Schultz-Gora cites further examples on p. 11 of his edition ; his references, however, are not complete and should be supplemented by the other examples that I have given. Similar refrains may also be found in *Motets*, I, 52, 98 ; II, 4, 11, 29, 117 ; Scheler, *Trouvères belges*, II, 89 ; Coussemaker, *Adam de la Halle*, p. 219.

12. La rose m'est donée ; jà ne la perdrai.

Lavoix, in his study, *La musique au siècle de Saint Louis* (Raynaud, *Motets*, II, 411), cites this refrain from the *Mariage des sept arts et des sept vertus*, where it is divided into two lines.

13. Par ci va la mignotise par ci où je vois.

This refrain is common. It occurs three times in *Motets* (I, 95, 243 ; II, 16) ; in the first instance the word *Dieu !* introduces the refrain ; in the second case the song begins with the first line of the refrain and ends with the last ; the third reference gives the refrain broken into two lines. Stimming prints it from the Bamberg ms. :

Deus ! par ci va la mignotise,

Par la ou je vois.

(*Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 73).

This is the only instance of the use of *la* in the second line. The refrain also occurs in the *Tournois de Chauvenet*, l. 1302, and *Adam de la Halle*, (ed. Coussemaker, p. 333), where the music may be found. This refrain belongs to the type so well adapted to the carols, the words corresponding to the movements of the dance. Others of the same type may be found in Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 96, and in the first part of this article.

14. Amorettes m'ont navré ;

Qui porroit ces maus souffrir ?

The first line of this refrain occurs also in *Motets*, I, 29 ; see also Stimming's edition of the Bamberg ms. (l. c., pp. 37 and 155), where R. A. Meyer's citation from *Renart le Nouvel*, l. 6956, may be found :

Vrais Diex, ki m'en garira ?

amours m'ont navré.

15. Dame, bien sai ne sai quoi me tormente,
Dirai-le-vous por avoir garison.

This refrain has not been found elsewhere.

16. Qui léaument sert s'amie,
Bien li doit sa joie doubler.

This refrain occurs, but with no indication that it is a refrain, in *Motets*, I, 181, where it forms the first and tenth lines of a motet.

17. Se j'avoie à fère ami,
Je le feroie brunet.

With this may be compared :

La jonete fu brunete :
de brun ami j'aati,
je sui brune,
s'avrai brun ami ausi.

(*R. und P.*, p. 19),

and :

Je sui brune j'avrai brun ami
Ausi (*Motets*, I, 17).

18. Qui tel vie ne veut mener,
Si se voist rendre à Clervaus.

This refrain has not been found elsewhere.

19. Vous qui là irez, pour Dieu, dites li,
S'ele onques ama, de moi ait merci.

This may be found in the *Violette*, l. 4417; it occurs also with a slight variation :

Et qant la verrez, por deu dites li
q'a la mort m'a mis se nen a merci.

(*R. und P.*, p. 135).

See also *A. und A.*, xciv, 83.

20. Je cuidioie amors oublier,
Mès je ne porroie.

There is an echo of this in a refrain given by Raynaud :

Si vos pri que de moi vos voelle remembrer,
Car je ne vous porroie oublier.

(*Motets*, I, 220).

21. Se n'ai vostre amor,
La mort m'ert donée,
Je n'i puis faillir.

Cf. :

Se je n'ai s'amors,
La mort m'a donée,
Ge n'i puis faillir.

(*Poire*, ed. Stehlich, l. 1424; see also *Hist. lit.*, xxii, 875).

This refrain also occurs in the Wolfenbüttel and the München mss. (*l. c.*, pp. 98 and 105); the latter offers this variant:

Se je n'ai s'amor,
La mort m'iert donee,
Je n'i puis faillir,
Ainz muir de desir.

22. Bele, car n'amez et je vous ameré
Par amours, s'il vous vient en gré.

This is similar to :

Voz amis serai,
S'il voz pleist et agréé ;
De fin cuer vous amerai,
Douce dame henorée.

(*Motets*, I, 43).

23. Je ne puis sans vous durer,
Comment durez-vous sanz moi ?

Maetzner gives a song, of which a stanza has the refrain :

Sire dieus, que devenrons nous ?
Je ne puis endurer sans vous,
Et sans moi comment dures vous ?
(*Alfr. Lieder*, p. 71).

The refrain occurs also in *Romvart*, ed. Keller, p. 309. Raynaud gives a motet beginning :

Je ne puis plus durer sans voz,

and ending :

Et sans moi coment durés vous ?
(*Motets*, I, 25).

The same collection contains the following refrains :

Car sanz vos ne puis durer (I, 66),
Dieus ! coment porroie
Sanz cele durer
Qui me tient a joie ? (II, 99),
Dieu ! j'aim tant que je n'i puis durer (I, 94),
Las ! si n'en puis sans lui durer (I, 109).

Examples of this type are frequent in the *Motets*. Compare also, from the Bamberg ms. (*l. c.*, p. 59) :

Je ne puis et si ne vuill
Sans li durer.

24. Eu ! Eu ! Diex ! or en criem morir d'amer !

With this the first line of a song by Pierres de Molaines may be compared :

Chanter me fait cou dont je criem morir.
(*Maetzner, Alfr. Lieder*, p. 6).

See also Maetzner's note on p. 126; this refrain occurs also in *Romvart*. A variant of the line may be found in *A. und A.*, xciv, 77.

Cf. also :

Maix por samor crien morir.
(Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII, 300).

Raynaud prints a refrain which suggests a blending of this and the preceding refrain :

Je quidai mes maus celer
Et endurer,
Mais je n'i puis durer,
Ains morrai pour bien amer.
(*Motets*, II, 71).

The next two refrains have not been found elsewhere :

25. Hé ! oiseillon du bois, léens,
Pour Dieu, resveille-moi souvent.

26. Bele qui mon cuer avez,
Rendez-le-moi se vous volez.

27. J'ai amé et aime encore et ai amours.

This is a variant of the refrain which ends each of the seven stanzas of a *pastourelle* by Bastorneis :

j'ai ameit et ameraï,
he ! dorelot ! et s'aimme aincor,
deus ! de jolif cuer mignot.
(*R. und P.*, pp. 306 ff.)

Cf. also :

J'ai ameit et ameraï
Trestout les jours de ma vie,
Et plus jolive an serai.
(*Motets*, II, 34).

The *Cour d'amour* (*Ro.*, x, 523) contains the refrain :

J'ain loiaument et ameraï tous jours.

The last two refrains of the *Salut* have not been found elsewhere :

28. Qui me rendroit mon aignel
Et mon damage, à li me rent.

29. A qoi fère en parlez vous ?
L'en n'en feroit rien por vous.

Thus of the twenty-nine refrains of the *salut d'amour*, at least twenty have been preserved elsewhere, either exactly or in the form of variants, many of them occurring in a number of other songs of various types.

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PROVENÇAL *aib*, *ab*, *aiba* ;
PORTUGUESE *eiva*

Among the various etymologies proposed for Provençal *aib*, (with the by-forms *ab* and *aiba*) "quality, characteristic, habit," listed in Körting, § 382, probably the only one deserving of serious consideration is Thurneysen's suggestion¹ that the word is related to the Old Irish *óiph*, "appearance," which is taken to come from an original feminine form **aibā*. This view is open to serious objections. Aside from the material difficulty of the treatment of the intervocalic *b*,—unless we assume the word to be a late importation,—Thurneysen himself states that it is impossible to decide from the Old Irish form whether the original Celtic word began with *oi-* or *ai-*, that we must assume an entirely hypothetical masculine form **aibo* to account for the form *aib*, and that, as Diez suggests, the form *ab* exhibits a "flattened diphthong," to which Provençal parallels are not cited. The change in meaning from "appearance" to "quality," though not in itself improbable, involves further conjecture. It is doubtless such considerations as these which led Windisch to omit the word from his list of Romance borrowings from Celtic.²

Under these circumstances perhaps it may not be presumptuous to hazard another opinion. Meyer-Lübke has compared³ the Provençal word with the Portuguese and Galician *eiba*, *eiva*, which, according to Madame Michaelis de Vasconcellos,⁴ means "jeglichen körperlichen oder geistigen Makel oder Fehler ; beim Menschen das Fehlen eines Gliedes oder Unbrauchbarkeit

¹ *Keltoromanisches* (Halle, 1884), p. 88.

² Gröber's *Grundriss*, I¹, 312 (= I², 403-404). It is also worthy of note that Holder says nothing of the Provençal word in his *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896), s. v. **aibā*, and that Flechia (*Archivio glot. ital.*, VIII, 320) regards the origin of the word as "non ben chiara." On the other hand, Meyer-Lübke (*Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, I, § 20) and Horning (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIV, 218) are inclined to accept Thurneysen's view.

³ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 270.

⁴ *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* (Florence, 1886), p. 125. Meyer-Lübke seems to be right in rejecting the etymology **labia*, proposed by the learned author of the *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*.